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SPEECHES

DELIVERED IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ON THE

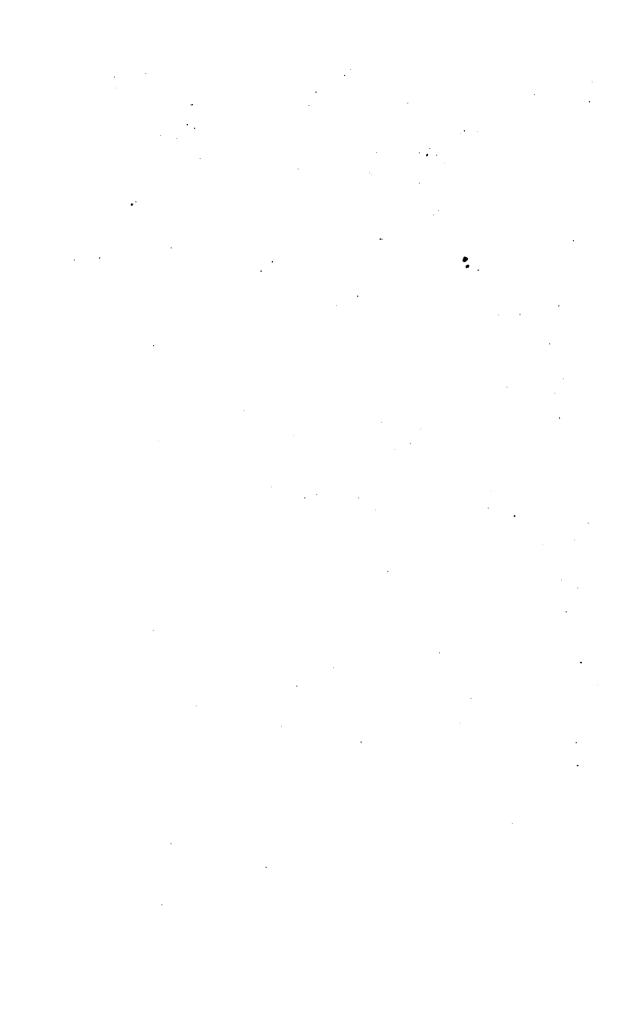
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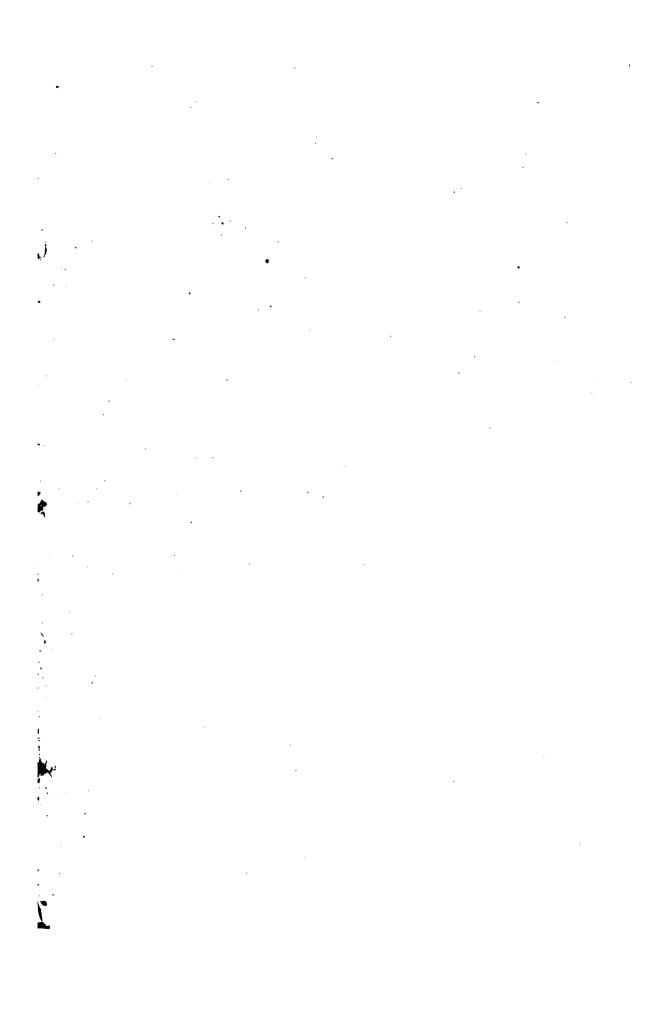
OF

EX-SPEAKERS SEDGWICK, VARNUM, AND BANKS.

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SPEECHES

DELIVERED IN THE

us. House of Representatives

JANUARY 19, 1888,

ON THE

PRESENTATION BY THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

OF

PORTRAITS

OF

EX-SPEAKERS SEDGWICK, VARNUM, AND BANKS.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1888.

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1900.

PORTRAITS OF EX-SPEAKERS.

House of Representatives, Thursday, January 19, 1888.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The hour of three having arrived, the special order will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That Thursday, January 19, at 3 o'clock p. m., be set apart for the presentation to the House of Representatives of portraits of ex-Speakers Sedgwick, Varnum, and Banks by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that upon that occasion the Committee of the Executive Council of that State be admitted to the floor.

Address of Mr. Long, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker: Several years ago, when I was in official position in Massachusetts, Hon. George B. Loring, then a member of this body from that State, wrote me urging the propriety of its furnishing suitable oil paintings of the Speakers it had given to this House. No action was taken in the matter at that time. But the consummation was not far off. When my colleague, Mr. Rockwell, entered the Forty-eighth Congress he sought, at first in vain, among the pictures of the ex-Speakers of the House for one bear-

ing the name of Theodore Sedgwick, who was Speaker in the Sixth Congress and whose home was in that part of Massachusetts which Mr. Rockwell now represents. After persistent inquiry he ascertained that one of the then unnamed pictures hanging in the adjoining lobby was the object of his search. He was aided in his investigation by Mr. Clark, the Architect of the Capitol, who two years later, as a result of a conversation between them, addressed to him the following letter:

Architect's Office, U. S. Capitol, Washington, D. C., February 16, 1886.

DEAR SIR: As relates to the portraits of the Massachusetts Speakers of the United States House of Representatives, I have the honor to state that the portrait of Speaker Winthrop, recently presented by certain citizens of Massachusetts, is a work of art worthy of the place it holds and the person it represents. That of Speaker Banks, though an oil painting, is on paper and in a decaying condition. Those of Sedgwick and Varnum are crayon drawings, quite beneath criticism.

I can not but entertain the hope that your great State will follow the example of the State of Connecticut, and have painted, by artists of repute, portraits of its Speakers, Sedgwick, Varnum, and Banks, to grace this national collection.

Very respectfully, yours,

Edward Clark,

Architect United States Capitol.

Hon. F. W. Rockwell,

House of Representatives.

The following memorial to the authorities of Massachusetts was the next step:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 16, 1886.

The undersigned, Representatives from the State of Massachusetts in the Forty-ninth Congress, respectfully represent that in the collection of the portraits of the Speakers of the House of Repre-

sentatives of the United States, those of Speakers Sedgwick, Varnum, and Banks are unworthy of the place they hold, one being in a perishing condition and the others crayon drawings indifferently executed. They therefore earnestly pray that measures will be taken by the authorities of the State which they have the honor to represent in Congress to have furnished for this national collection at the Capitol portraits of Speakers Sedgwick, Varnum, and Banks, to be painted by artists of repute, as in the case of Speaker Winthrop.

R. T. Davis.
John D. Long.
A. A. Ranney.
Patrick A. Collins.
E. D. Hayden.
H. B. Lovering.
E. F. Stone.
Chas. H. Allen.
Frederick D. Ely.
W. W. Rice.
Wm. Whiting.
Francis W. Rockwell.

We have had no recent opportunity of examining the portraits of the distinguished gentlemen referred to. Fully confiding, however, in the judgment of the delegation in the House of Representatives as to the pictures referred to, we concur in their desire.

> H. L. Dawes. Geo. F. Hoar.

This letter and memorial were presented to the Governor of Massachusetts, who transmitted both to the Senate and House of Representatives of that Commonwealth, recommending the subject to their favorable consideration and action. The Massachusetts Legislature promptly responded by passing the following resolve, which was approved April 1, 1886:

Resolved, That the Governor and Council be, and they are hereby, authorized and requested to have furnished for the National Capitol

at Washington, D. C., worthy portraits of Speakers Sedgwick, Varnum, and Banks, the same to be painted by some artist or artists of skill and repute, and to correspond in merit with that of Speaker Winthrop, already in the collection.

Under the authority of this resolve the Governor and Council employed Edgar Parker, of Boston, to paint a portrait of Theodore Sedgwick from an original by Stuart in the possession of the Sedgwick family, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

They purchased of a great grandson of the Speaker of the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses a portrait of Joseph Bradley Varnum. It is a copy painted by Charles Loring Eliott more than thirty years ago. The original was done by an artist whose name is not ascertained. The copy was intended, when made, for the National Capitol, but the original intention seems to have been abandoned.

They employed R. W. Vonnoh, of Boston, to paint a portrait of the Speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress, Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, from life, representing him, however, as of the age at which he was Speaker.

The artists have finished their work. The portraits are here, having been brought to Washington under the charge of Messrs. Bourne, Johnson, and Locke, a Committee of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, appointed by Governor Ames to present them to the National Government, and now, by the courtesy of the House, present on its floor.

Speaking for them and for the ancient Commonwealth whose gift they bring, I present to the National House of Representatives these "worthy portraits" of Speakers Sedgwick, Varnum, and Banks. With the painting of Winthrop, already here, they are speakers still for the State and for the Union to which the men whose faces they picture ren-

dered high and honorable service. I trust that other States, following the example of this day, will array beside these portraits worthy portraits of their own distinguished sons who have held the same office, and who deserve, as Massachusetts thought hers deserved, more permanent and artistic memorials than those which have hitherto hung upon the adjoining walls.

It is fitting, Mr. Speaker, that I leave to my colleagues, who represent the several districts in which lived the Speakers whom Massachusetts has given to the chair you occupy, the appreciative words which this occasion demands in their behalf; but I can not forbear to add in a single sentence that their fame and service are limited to no district in that historic Commonwealth, but are all hers, associated with her common glory; hers, not as she stands alone, but as she stands and has stood and will stand as a part of that Union which, under her construction of its Constitution, has been tried and not found wanting in power to preserve its own integrity, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; hers, too, proud mother as she has been of so many other statesmen, soldiers, scholars, orators, poets, and patriots who have loved, honored, and served their country.

Could you, sir, like Virgil's hero, cross the stream and walk the Elysian fields, as at some time you will—may it be late alike with you and with him whose place, by reason of his illness, you occupy this day—you would see them there—Sam Adams and John; Otis and Quincy and Hancock; Warren, his patriot blood spouting hot from his

gaping wound; the swart, mighty brow of Webster, bent over the open pages of the Constitution; the nervous figure of Choate; the graceful pose of Everett; Longfellow, dreaming of the banks of the Charles; Garrison and Wilson; Emerson and Sumner; and Phillips, calm in his merciless scorn of injustice, walking arm and arm with the fiery Andrew, no Greek or Trojan helmets on their heads, but in their hands the broken shackles of a slave and the olive branches of the restored peace and union of their country. Only shadows; only pictures, such as these we bring to-day—mute, but forever eloquent. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. Rockwell, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker: In the Fiftieth Congress we recall the eminent public service of a gentleman who was in the First Congress.

Theodore Sedgwick won a high position in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the councils of the Federal party, and in Congress. A man of integrity, fidelity, and capacity, he leads a line of well-equipped Western Massachusetts men who have been honored, not alone by merited promotion at home, but who have been intrusted in the Congress of the United States with the high duty of framing, shaping, defending, maintaining the dignity, power, and humanity of a beloved country.

When he entered the First Congress he brought talent and experience. Educated at Yale, entering the Massachusetts bar (April, 1766) when scarce twenty, we find him at thirty an aid to General Thomas in the expedition to Canada (1776) and afterward procuring supplies for the Continental Army. He represented the old town of Sheffield in the Massachusetts General Court, both before and after the Revolution. His votes are recorded as a Delegate in the Congress of the Confederation in 1786 (June 1 to August 22) and in 1788 (April 4 to September 3). In the winter of 1787 at home he aided in suppressing the Shays insurrection. In 1788 he was also a representative from Stockbridge to the Massachusetts State convention that adopted the Federal Constitution, a course he strongly advocated in the convention. The same year he was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

He served in the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses in the House until he was appointed from the Fourth Congress as an United States Senator to succeed Caleb Strong, presenting his credentials on December 21, 1796. On June 27, 1798, he was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, serving until July 19. Returned to the House in the Sixth Congress (1799), he was elected Speaker, serving till March 3, 1801.

In 1802 Massachusetts, who appreciates faithful public service, placed him on her supreme court, where he remained until his death, in his sixty-sixth year. Thus a life beginning in 1746 and ending in 1813 was filled with usefulness and crowned with honor. Thus it appears that he served in two Congresses under the Confederation and in the first six Congresses after the adoption of the Constitution, under our present representative Republic. He served during the two administrations of Washington and under that of John Adams.

He took his seat in the First Congress, held in the city of New York, on June 15, 1789. He served in the Con-

gresses held at Philadelphia and was there Speaker in the first session of the Sixth. When the second session of the Sixth Congress opened its sitting in the new Federal city of Washington he was the presiding officer (November 17, 1800).

He lived and was deeply interested in the stirring times preceding and during the Revolution and throughout the formative period of the Republic. He was in the midst of affairs when the Articles of Confederation were agreed upon (1777); when the ninth State adopted the Constitution (1788).

Mr. Sedgwick believed in a firm government. His speeches indicate it. He believed in the Republic. His distrust of the capacity of the people for self-government as intimated by his distinguished daughter, Miss Catherine, I believe, on careful comparison with his public utterances, to be overdrawn. Logical and lucid, elegant in expression, and with the dignity of a gentleman of the old school, he proved by his speeches that Congress is a house of work for intellectual men. The speeches of that day indeed disclose a grand grasp of ideas, a philosophical reasoning second only to the good judgment, discretion, and forethought of the framers of the Constitution itself. In those discussions Mr. Sedgwick bore a conspicuous part. He was a wellgrounded and ready debater. The day after taking his seat in the First Congress he joined in the debate upon the question of allowing the head of the proposed Department of Foreign Affairs to be removable by the President, urging his position by illustration, logic, and marked ability. This position of a sound reasoner, an eloquent debater, he steadily maintained. His speeches disclose a familiarity

with subjects then before Congress and mark him a man of intellect, of great research and comprehension, able to meet, grapple with, and conquer difficulties in a practical way.

With constitutional ardor he became a leader of his party. His relations with the leading men of his day were intimate and confidential. In the works of Alexander Hamilton appear a few of his letters and the replies received to them. Indeed, the last political letter written by Hamilton, the day before his death, was directed to Judge Sedgwick. His was the Federalism of the Hamiltonian era—"an honest faith, a patriotic, true-hearted, and high-minded one."

His learning, integrity, impartiality, and courtly bearing made him as a judge honored and respected, worthy the high position Massachusetts had conferred upon him.

Judge Sedgwick's private life was passed amid the picturesque hills of Berkshire. Here he lived in republican simplicity, yet dispensing a generous hospitality. The tributes of his children while he lived and after his death disclose the loving relations that mark the true home. His care and guidance impressed his character and attainments on his children's children.

The town of Stockbridge, the county of Berkshire, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, will ever cherish the memory of his life and eminent public service. Standing here to-day, representing the district in which he lived, the bar at which he practiced, a family of the neighborhood that has witnessed and known his career, I admit a peculiar personal delight in the occasion of the presentation of this portrait. His was a masterful personality. His life was one of high and successful endeavor; it presents a charm and

an inspiration. With "the old Massachusetts paper," "we leave it to the skill of the exquisite artist to complete a picture which, if a faithful resemblance of the original, can not fail to engage the attention and produce the delight of posterity." [Applause.]

Address of Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker: Almost a century in the busy growth and active life of this nation has passed since General Joseph Bradley Varnum, of Massachusetts, presided as Speaker over the deliberations of this body; and on this day the old Commonwealth once more calls attention to the early days of our national life, as she hangs upon the walls of the Nation's Capitol this truthful representation of one who characterized a type in our early struggles, that the thousands of American citizens coming to this place, as to a shrine, shall here find, in honored places, the likenesses of those men whose heroic traits of character added so much to our national greatness, as if woven into the web of our national life in its first weaving, forming a beautiful tapestry, to educate and delight.

So far removed in time from the subject of these remarks, an epitome of his life will serve the purpose of the occasion if from it we may draw a lesson applicable to modern times.

On January 29, 1750, General Varnum was born in the town of Dracut, Massachusetts, where his ancestors had settled in 1664, and where his descendants still dwell: a delightful village on the banks of the charming Merrimac, which, having its source among the White Mountains of

New Hampshire, flows between beautifully wooded banks, with varying interest, down to the sea; pausing in its busy way to turn millions of cotton-spindles, and blending the music of its own easy-flowing rhythm with the hum of the looms on which are being woven, day by day, the garments of the Oriental.

Amid pastoral scenes the most delightful, this rugged man had his early life, and among such associations were formed those habits of thought, that simplicity of character, that ardent patriotism, that intense zeal which characterized the youth of that historic section and made possible that sudden arming and gathering which found the men of Middlesex County, on that historic April morning, at the bridge at Concord, to inaugurate the great struggle of the Revolution, out of which this nation was to arise.

He was the younger of two brothers, both of whom became conspicuous in the history of their country. At the age of eighteen he was commissioned captain by the Committee of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and in 1787 colonel by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In 1802 he was made brigadier and in 1805 major general of the State militia, holding the latter office at his death in 1821. His love of military affairs commenced early and continued through a long and useful life.

From 1780 to 1795 he was a member of the House of Representatives and Senate of Massachusetts, and in 1787 and 1795 served as a member of the Governor's Council. From 1795 to 1811 he was a Member of the National House of Representatives, during which time he was chosen Speaker two terms—from 1807 to 1811—having been the immediate predecessor of Henry Clay. From 1811 to 1817

he was United States Senator from Massachusetts, having been elected in opposition to Timothy Pickering, and he was President *pro tempore* of the Senate and Acting Vice-President of the United States from December 6, 1813, to April 17, 1814. He was a member of the State convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and that of 1820 to revise the constitution of Massachusetts, and was the presiding officer in the absence of Presidents John Adams and Chief-Justice Parker. He was an authority in that convention on parliamentary rules and military affairs. In 1813 he ran as candidate for Governor of Massachusetts against Caleb Strong, the incumbent of that office, but was defeated, the only political defeat of his life.

General Varnum was among the earliest patriots of the Revolution, having raised and commanded, as captain, a company of minute-men from his native town, which participated in engagements in Rhode Island and New York. He was with General Sullivan in Rhode Island, and was present with his company at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, in October, 1777, and convoyed the German prisoners of war to Boston. For his assistance in putting down Shays's rebellion, in 1787, he received a personal letter of thanks from General Benjamin Lincoln, commanding the In politics (unlike his brother, General James State forces. M. Varnum, of Rhode Island, who was a Federalist) he was a Democrat, and a strong and consistent supporter of the administration of Jefferson, and was the latter's personal adviser and friend. After his retirement, in 1817, from the National Congress, he was again chosen to represent his district in the State Legislature; and when he died, September 21, 1821, he was the senior member of the Senate of

Massachusetts—thus having for over thirty years been in continuous public service, twenty-two of which were spent at the National Capital.

He left a valuable correspondence with Jefferson, Madison, the elder Adams, Elbridge Gerry, and the eminent men of his day. The simplicity of his life and character nowhere appear to greater advantage than in his direction for his funeral—that there should be no military or civic display, but that he should be buried from his farm-house and attended by his friends and neighbors.

I am indebted for many of the above data respecting his life to the courtesy of his grandson, Mr. John M. Varnum, now residing in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

But any mere picture, however famous the artist or excellent the production, falls short of its purpose in this connection, unless from it, as Americans, we can draw some lessons useful to us in our national life.

In these hurly-burly days of great activity in political matters, we are apt to lose sight of the paramount interest of the State, in the pressing demands of personal politics, and it does us good to turn aside from the beaten path and climb the elevation at hand, where we can overlook the small matters of immediate detail, and take a broad and comprehensive view of our great affairs.

The days of General Varnum were, in their way, the crucial period in the history of our country. They marked the separation from the mother country, the setting up of the new nation, the daily meeting of new propositions to be decided with sound sense, prudence, and caution; and they exacted from those who had to deal with them wide experience and information, simplicity of purpose, a profound love

of country, and an entire faith in its great future. And it seemed as if Providence, in the rearing of our early patriots, prepared a people for the new life and new conditions. other lands, the theory of government had been based upon the divine right, and liberty-yearning people everywhere were casting about for some spot where the experiment of a government based upon human rights and human equality could be attempted. Toward our shores the tide of Sturdy, resolute men and women emigration had settled. had come hither. The bleak and dreary snow-covered hills and plains, the fog-enveloped, rock-bound coasts of New England seemed in their almost forbidding harshness to invite men who had the fire of liberty burning in their hearts, and among surroundings the most disheartening, upon these shores, determined men mapped out the future of this country.

In the hill towns of New England the very air was freighted with the purposes of the people, and the greater the obstacles to be surmounted the more enduring and useful the lesson taught. Behind these people was the great story of the English-speaking race, with its excellences to imitate, its vices to shun; and the greater the difficulties the grander the character developed.

Just as on some bleak and barren waste, where the blasts of winter sweep and rage with relentless fury, now and then one sees, standing fair and stately, some massive tree, stronger of trunk, broader of limb than is wont to be, developed the more by the very elements with which it contends; so in New England were developed those strong characteristics of a freedom-loving people, broad enough to embrace all who loved their country, and strong and

elastic enough, though they bend and swing beneath tremendous pressure, to rise again to the same stately and commanding dignity of spirit.

Inviting the fullest and widest discussion, the broadest liberty, yet with a quiet dignity and a superb conservatism, placing the limit (the dead-line of discussion) where personal liberty is threatened or the sacredness of person or property menaced—that was the spirit of New England, always aggressive, and that, in my judgment, is the active underlying principle of our Government, which must ever move and control. No limit to theories or "isms" until they approach, in their tendencies, the overthrow of Government, the rights of property, or the lives of persons.

Of such a people was General Varnum, and his life is but the working out, in one man, the essence of this principle. From him down, the same spirit animates our citizens, whether they make their path through Northern climes or whether the warm sun of the Southern latitudes finds them toiling still. It is the love of country. The nation first, then the individual, but the aggregate of the individual weal, the highest honor of the nation. This is the spirit which has controlled our countrymen, whether in Faneuil Hall, or Independence Hall, or wherever patriots have gathered; it has been this banner of human rights and perfect equality of all before the law, which has been lifted up in the sight of all men—that golden symbol—that whosoever looketh upon, liveth.

And here is the lesson, and here I leave it. As this painting shall hang upon yonder wall in the years to come, so may its presence recall the heroic struggles through

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which we have passed as a nation, the difficulties and dangers still menacing us; and may the contemplation of these earlier patriots, in their earnestness of purpose and simplicity of character, be a lesson and an inspiration to all, drawing men continually together as members of the same country, and teaching us all to take a higher and more ennobling view of our duties as citizens of this great Republic. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. Collins, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker: It has been deemed by the Representatives from Massachusetts in this House not only fitting, but, indeed, essential to the completeness of this day's ceremony that at least a reference should be made to the eminent citizen of that Commonwealth who graced the Speaker's chair some forty years ago.

During the session of the Forty-seventh Congress his portrait was presented and received here in words so true and appropriate, so clearly estimating his character and weighing his work, that, though the gracious task is allotted to me, I refrain from an extended analysis of either. Yet I can not, as a citizen of that great State, a State proud of the achievements of all her sons and sensitive as a mother to praise and blame, let the hour pass without asking you again to recognize and appreciate the space that Robert C. Winthrop so superbly filled.

If Virginia is the mother of Presidents, Massachusetts is the cradle of Speakers. Of the thirty-six who have presided over the House of Representatives four have come from that Commonwealth. My colleagues have portrayed the characters of the other distinguished Speakers, and the qualities of head and heart that won and justified the favor of their associates. They served their State and the Republic with ability, honor, and patriotism. To whatever parties we are attached, and whatever traditions guide, bind, or affect us, we men of Massachusetts are as one in our respect for our stainless fellow-citizens who have filled that chair.

Worthy among the best, or best among the worthy, was Speaker Winthrop. He came equipped for service as few men come to the House. He was carefully and thoroughly educated; free from the cares that oppress the struggling beginner, with six years' experience as a legislator and parliamentarian, he arrived in time to match his mind in debate with the ablest men the Republic has honored with its suffrages. In a recent publication due credit is given to his great capacity as an orator, but his power as a debater is more than questioned. Men yet live who served with him, not only here but in other deliberative bodies, and their testimony is that he not only excelled all others in grace and force of diction in what may be termed "set speeches," but he stood level with the great debaters of the time. We need not seek, however, evidence from out-The printed record which from day to day contains the hot extemporaneous expressions of our legislators does full justice to him. He was a great debater as well as an accomplished rhetorician. Called to the Speaker's chair in a stormy epoch, he served with rare grace, felicity, and firmness. It is worth remarking that he had the privilege of placing Abraham Lincoln, in the only Congress in which the future President served, upon a committee which helped

to extend the postal system into the then far West. In the chair he guided the House, as a Speaker can, with prudence, firmness, and great wisdom.

He left our active legislative life at an age when most ambitious men aspire to enter it, only to contribute in other ways to the common weal and to the enrichment of our literature. In serene and graceful old age he still remains to remind us of all that is just and honorable, true and intellectual, of that group of statesmen who clearly saw the forming of the great cloud and knew its fearful portent. The cloud has come and gone, and in another way the air is free; but we owe our acknowledgments to men like him who sought to dissipate it in peace.

His masterly oration at Yorktown and his more recent utterances in this hall will live as models of eloquence and fortunate analysis of character as long as our institutions that he did so much to conserve shall endure. [Applause.]

Without reflecting in the slightest degree upon the writer to whom I refer, and merely in the interest of the truth of history, I ask to supplement my remarks with a letter from one of Mr. Winthrop's contemporaries, 'the Hon. Julius Rockwell.

The Clerk read as follows:

LENOX, MASS., Fanuary 16, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: I learn from the newspapers that you are expected to make some remarks at an early day in the House of Representatives in relation to Mr. Winthrop, a former Speaker of the House.

In the first volume of Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," at the seventy-third page, in what purports to be a summary of the character of Mr. Winthrop as a public man, this sentence occurs: "As an orator he was always graceful and effective, but never took high rank in the House as a debater."

I think this sentence, unintentionally of course, fails essentially in justice to Mr. Winthrop. I served with Mr. Winthrop in the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, and Thirtieth Congresses, in the House of Representatives. I had been with him previously in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in the years of 1835, 1836, and 1837, and have heard his speeches on many public occasions. The value of such books as that of Mr. Blaine, and of the opinions therein expressed upon such a subject, must depend greatly upon the opportunity which the author has had to observe the continual conduct and character of debates. I think Mr. Blaine has never been associated with Mr. Winthrop in any deliberative assembly. I feel justified therefore, and deem it a duty, on any proper occasion, to express a different opinion. Mr. Winthrop, while a Member of the House, spoke upon many, I think most, of the important questions then discussed. He not only made what may be called set speeches, in which he was always graceful and effective, as Mr. Blaine says, but I think his utterances, as well in these as in general debate, placed him in a very high rank as a parliamentary debater, and that such was the general opinion of his associates. During the Congress in which he was Speaker of the House his duties were performed to the universal satisfaction of all parties. So far as I can, I wish to give my testimony especially to his high rank as a debater, and to assure you that the passage I have quoted from Mr. Blaine is not just to Mr. Winthrop.

I am sure you will pardon me for these suggestions, as I am one of the few living who had these opportunities of observation.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

Julius Rockwell.

Hon. P. A. Collins.

Address of Mr. HAYDEN, of Massachusetts.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Thirty-fourth Congress met on the 3d of December, 1855. The House consisted of 234 Members and 7 Territorial Delegates, two new Territories having lately been formed, namely, Kansas and Nebraska. The

Clerk of the House announced that a quorum had answered to their names, and a motion was made to proceed to the election of a Speaker. Then began one of the most memorable contests to elect a presiding officer of the House of Representatives known since the formation of the Govern-The balloting continued day after day without an election, no candidate receiving a majority of the ballots. The debates which sprang up between the times of voting plainly expressed the temper of the public mind on the great question which agitated the country. It was a time of transition. The old parties were disintegrating; new ones were being formed; the cuestion of slavery and freedom was uppermost in all minds, and this burning subject was forced to the front by the repeal of the compromises and the acts relating to slavery in the Territories. passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had divided the party in power and had driven from it many sincere and earnest men opposed at heart to the institution of slavery; but love for the Constitution and reverence for the memory and acts of the fathers who framed that instrument had restrained them from the honest expression of hostility to that insti-Now, the barriers having been removed by the passage of these acts, the old struggle was renewed which from the earliest days had produced the fiercest and harshest debates and which shook the very foundation of the Gov-Theretofore men with veneration for the Constitution had spoken of slavery reluctantly, with bated breath and with euphemistic phrase; but now men spoke boldly and with no uncertain sound on this dominant subject, and it was apparent that the country was dividing as never before. The issue was being made and parties were forming which would bring this question to a final settlement, though then and later earnest efforts for conciliation and compromise were being made. The people of the country watched this contest of two months for Speaker with intense interest.

On the 2d of February, 1856, and on the one hundred and thirty-third ballot, the House elected, by the plurality rule, Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, of Massachusetts, Speaker.

Mr. Banks was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, Janu-The cotton mills of that town were about the first in the country to take raw material and make it into a fabric under one roof. His parents were in humble circumstances and connected with the factory population. attended the village school, and in early life entered the mills as an operative. Eager to learn, he was a great reader of the books in the library of the corporation, and he studied hard and continuously, being his own teacher. bright lad, he was apt and ready in discussion, and evinced much skill and information in the village debating society. The training got here made him later a prominent figure in the town meetings, where his dignity and grace of manner, oratorical power, quickness and facility in debate, won him many a victory on questions of local government. These steps in training advanced him to the public platform, and he took part in the Presidential campaign of 1840, advocating the election of Martin Van Buren. candidate for the General Court, but was defeated seven times before he gained a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was twice elected its Speaker. He was president of the convention to revise the constitution, and was elected to the Thirty-third Congress as a Democrat.

He was elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress, "clothed," in his own words:

With a majority of 7,000, the largest majority, with a single exception, any man ever received in the political contests of Massachusetts. I may say, perhaps, that I represent the strongest antislavery district in the United States.

This was the elected Speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress. During the contest, replying to a member, he said:

In my brief period of public life, not altogether a quiet one, I have relied upon myself alone. I have done that, under all circumstances, which my conviction taught me to be right.

One member spoke of him "as the very hone and sinew of Free-soilism."

On January 9, 1856, Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, appealed to Massachusetts in these terms:

I put it to you, men of Massachusetts, if the lesson of the past does not say, concede a little? What is the teaching of your own great and glorious history, whenever it has been manifest that your personal wishes stood in the way of the attainment of a great end which we were all struggling for? Look at the burning page that is before you, and read its teachings. Let me ask in kindness, I beg of you, what is written in the history of your own eventful and brilliant past? Eight years, almost one-eighth of the existence of our Government, your children have sat in the chair of the Speakership of this House. There was your Sedgwick, your Varnum, your Winthrop. And in the other end of the Capitol twelve years of Presidency have been yours. Your great Adams and your Gerry have been there. The seat of highest honor—the Chief Magistracy—the great father and the great son, the elder and the younger Adams, have occupied. In the National Cabinet, from the first, your voice has almost always been heard. In our diplomatic relations your name has been registered in nearly every court upon earth. You have earned these honors and have worn them well. They were yours by the highest title—merit.

Mr. Knowlton, replying to this appeal:

The place has seemed to seek the man, and not the man the place. It is not Massachusetts that comes here and asks the election of the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts as Speaker. She, as a State, does not press it, although she may well be proud of the honorable gentleman for whom we are all proud to cast our votes. She does not press it. The great spirit of freedom aroused throughout the length and breadth of the free States of the Union has laid her hand upon that honorable gentleman, and is asking that he may go up to occupy that chair. And, so far as the West is concerned -so far as the pioneer spirit that dwells in the West is concerned; that spirit of energy which has led these men out into that land -where in all the Union can that spirit of inherent energy find a more fit representative than in the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, for whom we vote? Sir, if I may be pardoned the expression, he is a man whose native energy has broken through all the barriers that surrounded him, and he has raised himself to a position in the estimation of the freemen of this nation of which any man on earth might well be proud.

As the presiding officer of the greatest legislative body, the experience acquired as moderator of the town meeting and as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives fitted him admirably, and he gained a deserved reputation amongst all parties in the land. Of an erect figure, much dignity of manner; with a sonorous and attractive voice, untiring courtesy, fairness to all sides, he won the respect of the members, and ranks among the most successful of Speakers.

Elected to the Thirty-fifth Congress, he resigned, and was three times elected Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. During his administration the great institutions of learning and philanthropy, which that Commonwealth so zealously fosters and encourages, received his earnest attention.

Her militia, under his direction, became efficient, and had no superior in any State. All classes of citizens joined in doing him honor. He won the applause of scholars, when he represented the State at the annual commencement of its oldest university, by his eloquent words and elegant diction, and he retained to the end of his term the confidence and affection of his people.

During the civil war he commanded armies and great departments. The training of the soldier had not been his, but he was placed in high position, served faithfully and courageously, and was a prominent figure.

After the close of the war he was elected to the Thirtyninth, Fortieth, Forty-second, Forty-fourth, and Forty-fifth Congresses. Since then he has served the country in other places, and always honestly and with ability.

This man of simple origin and scant education fitted himself by his own inherent strength and untiring industry to fill with credit any place within the gift of the people, and Massachusetts honors herself when she honors him, whose steadfast integrity has always been conspicuous and whose public services command the praise of all her people.

It would not be becoming in me to indulge too much in eulogistic speech. He would so counsel me. I have pointed out in a brief way to the Representatives of the Fiftieth Congress the public services of Massachusetts's fourth contribution to the Speaker's chair. My honorable colleague has in eloquent words borne witness to the distinguished merits of Mr. Winthrop. These two men—striking illustrations of our free institutions; the one the descendant of the first governor of Massachusetts Bay, the

recipient of all she could give in education and culture; the other of limited education, of simple surroundings, self-taught—have both occupied with equal ability the Speaker's chair and shared in that great prize of a great nation.

Massachusetts to-day presents to the House of Representatives the portrait of Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, one of her honored sons: sprung from the plain people, from whose loins come the strength and prosperity of the land. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. LODGE, of Massachusetts.

Mr. SPEAKER: It would be idle for me to attempt to add to what has been so eloquently said as to the Massachusetts Representatives who have filled the high place of Speaker in this House. Yet I can not forbear to say a few words as to one of the distinguished men whose portraits Massachusetts to-day presents to the nation. I am led to do this by a strong feeling of personal regard and by an equally strong sense of many kindnesses. I have, however, still another motive. In that famous declaration of literary independence which Dr. Johnson addressed to Lord Chesterfield he said: "The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labors, had it been early had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent and can not enjoy it; till I am solitary and can not impart it; till I am known and do not want it."

This sentiment, with slight variation of phrase, is susceptible of wide application. We are too apt to give only criticism to the living man and reserve all our praise until he is dead. I do not mean by this the common praise that

"crooks the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning," nor that which is poured out at the shrine where the fancy or the folly of the hour makes it fashionable to worship. I mean the praise of those who have nothing to expect and which is offered to those who have nothing to give. It is this which we are too ready to keep for the frigid lines of the epitaph or the obituary, when the heart which in life it might have stirred with pleasure is still and cold in death. We can certainly afford to praise a friend, when, as in the case of Mr. Winthrop, to whom I refer, his career as a public man has passed into history. It would seem, perhaps, too soon to say this, but it is not the lapse of time that has made historical the events of forty There is the gulf of a civil war between that time and this; and the mighty conflict which divided States and altered constitutions, which obliterated parties and swept social systems into ruin, has pushed into the domain of history men and events that by a mere counting of years would still belong to the present.

Turn to the pages of the Congressional Globe which record the doings of the Thirtieth Congress, and run your eye down the list of committees appointed by Mr. Winthrop. It is a somewhat sobering exercise, for the names are for the most part mere names and nothing more. Some few are famous; some are remembered, and most forgotten. There are "some with lives that came to nothing, some with deeds as well undone." But if you scan the list closely you will find, as one of the gentlemen who preceded me has said, last but one on the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, the name of Abraham Lincoln. Try to realize what that name meant then, and think what it

means to this country and to mankind to-day, and there comes a very sharp perception of how far the Thirtieth Congress has passed into history.

Mr. Winthrop filled the office of Speaker with ability and impartiality as well as with the grace and courtesy for which he has ever been conspicuous. It is not my purpose, nor is it necessary, after what has been said to-day and on a previous occasion, to trace his public career either before or after that period. I desire simply to speak of him since his retirement from public life. Whatever his feelings may have been at the ending of a political career of unusual promise and success, he never swerved from that honorable service of the public which for two hundred and fifty years has been the habit and tradition of his race. As president of the Massachusetts Historical Society for more than a quarter of a century he has done a great work for the preservation and publication of our early historical records. By his writings he has largely contributed to American history. As president of the Provident Association of Boston, and of the Peabody Trustees, he has labored long and earnestly for the relief of poverty and suffering at his door and for the spread of education throughout the country. His eloquence has graced many of our most memorable celebrations, and his orations at Yorktown and at the completion of the Washington Monument are still fresh in every one's memory.

With these simple allusions I must be content. I only desire to place upon the record this slight personal tribute; not so much to the Speaker of the Thirtieth Congress as to the scholar and historian, to the orator and the philanthropist; above all, to the good citizen and the kindly

gentleman. Massachusetts is proud to be represented in these latter days on the honorable roll of the Speakers of this House by one who has added fresh luster to the name which she reveres as that of the founder of the Commonwealth, and also by the gray-haired soldier who has served both State and nation in the field and in civil life with so much patriotism and distinction. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPEAKER: I speak under the impulse which the occasion immediately prompts. The State of Massachusetts presents the portraits of ex-Speakers Theodore Sedgwick, who presided over the Sixth Congress; Joseph Bradley Varnum, who presided over the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses; and Nathaniel P. Banks, who presided over the Thirty-fourth Congress, to be placed alongside the portrait of Robert C. Winthrop, who presided over the Thirtieth Congress. I rise to offer a resolution accepting these portraits, with the assurance, not only of this House but of others yet to sit here, that they will be safely kept and treasured.

Massachusetts is affluent in her list of illustrious men who have added to her renown and that of our country. Theodore Sedgwick presided, as I have said, during the Sixth Congress. It was the Congress that sat during the last two years of Mr. John Adams's administration. He was a Federalist. Joseph Bradley Varnum presided during the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses, and was, as has been said here to-day, a disciple of Thomas Jefferson. His occu-

pancy of that chair was during the stormy period preceding the second war of independence with Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815. Nathaniel P. Banks presided during the Thirty-fourth Congress, and it was the privilege of some of us to be here with him, not, perhaps, during his term as Speaker, but subsequently, and therefore we know better of him and are able to speak with more certainty.

Mr. Banks, to my mind, was a typical American. He came from the mill to preside over the deliberations of a body of men representing a country that to-day is without a superior. Mr. Banks, in the discharge of that duty and in his whole career, has given to us an example which teaches us the strength of our institutions and their justice and impartiality, and demonstrates to American youth the truth that by industry, by perseverance, by energy and will power the field is open for them to occupy almost any station to which those qualities of character can advance them. And it is because we have such a Government, affording such opportunities, that we have been blessed with results commanding the admiration of the leading intellectual statesmen of civilization.

Soon after I entered this House, now more than a quarter of a century ago, I came to consider that that office which you, sir, now temporarily hold was the highest office within the reach of an American citizen; that it was a grand official station, great in the honors which it conferred and still greater in the ability it gave to impress upon our history and legislation the stamp of truth, fairness, justice, and right.

And, sir, there is a peculiar reason why these early Speakers who have occupied that chair are entitled to have what

they did ever to be remembered and their history never to be forgotten. They gave to the nation in its early years, after its organization and when it came to be practically tested, a direction, force, strength, and success rarely equaled, and certainly not surpassed, by any government of the past or present time.

When it fell to my fortune to occupy the Speaker's chair, I realized how true was my idea of the position and its possibilities; and I do not believe there is any one worthy of being mentioned in connection with it who, the very instant he takes it, will not become so broad and generous in the scope of his political vision as to act regardless of individual and personal consequences, and only for the best interests of the American people as his judgment shall dictate.

Public men in the United States, I am sorry to say, have few rewards or emoluments in return for the strain, the exacting labor, and the worry of public service; and yet the fact should be always kept in sight that the people do not always forget the good which their Representatives take part in doing; and I am sure I express the sentiment of all of us here when I say that it is a great incentive to exertion in the discharge of our duties to know our labors and services are not ignored or cast into oblivion. In the case of these eminent public servants, they have been held in veneration for what they did in the past; and for the future, by the gift of the State of Massachusetts, their portraits will adorn our walls to carry down to posterity their well-earned and well-deserved fame. [Great applause.]

I now send up a resolution of acceptance, which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That this House has received with great satisfaction the portraits of Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, Speaker of the Sixth Congress, Hon. Joseph B. Varnum, Speaker of the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses, and Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, Speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress, presented by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and will cause them to be placed and preserved among those of the other distinguished men who in times past have presided over the House of Representatives.

Address of Mr. Breckingidge, of Kentucky.

I rise, Mr. Speaker, to second the motion just submitted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania; and it is perhaps not altogether improper that the person selected to second this resolution should be a Representative from the State of Kentucky. Without any purpose to say one word in honor of that beloved State, whose people know that I love her with a passionate idolatry, it is not unbecoming to say that in her history there is no more glorious page than that on which are written the names and the deeds of her sons who have filled the Speaker's chair; and I to-day take advantage of the absence of one of those sons to say that in impartiality and intellectuality the son who fills it to-day never had a superior. [Applause.]

It is rather a peculiar fact, sir, that one of the gentlemen whose portrait we accept on this occasion was succeeded as Speaker by Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and another gentleman whose portrait we accept, Mr. Banks, himself succeeded Hon. Linn Boyd, of Kentucky; and, if I may refer

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to so small a matter as a personal fact, my eldest son bears the name of a Kentucky Representative who voted twice to elect General Varnum Speaker of this House.

Mr. Speaker, as I meditated about what it might be proper to say this afternoon, the one great thought that continually arose in my mind was the contrast between to-day, when this representative body legislates for sixty millions of freemen and for a country stretching from ocean to ocean, this day whose past is but the precursor of an ampler and nobler and more beloved future, and that day on which Theodore Sedgwick was born, a hundred and forty-two years ago. If any one standing by the side of his humble cradle on that May day in New England could have looked down the corridors of time and beheld the radiant effulgence of this glorious period, and, with prophetic ken and poetic power, have given utterance to it, he would have been held an insane dreamer of wild and impossible dreams.

The reality which has come to our ancestors and to ourselves outstrips all possible prophetic inspiration. And if
we could widen the contrast and take in the whole Englishspeaking people, if we could measure the feebleness of that
race of which we are a part on that spring day those years
ago and see how to-day the uplifted cross which has been
carried in the hands of those who speak this marvelous
tongue has been permanently planted in every part of the
globe, how the hot justice that marks our people and our
civilization is melting away the barbarism in every part of
the heathen earth, and how, under the benign rays of our
Christianity, the fruits of nobler enterprises and higher
hopes are daily growing into magnificence, we would realize
somewhat of the duties which are committed by the very

fact of inheritance to our hands and the glory of the triumphs which await our children in the future.

This contrast continually pressed itself upon me as I meditated upon the scene presented here this afternoon. In a narrower sense each one of the periods marked by the terms of these three gentlemen is a historic period in our development. When John Adams gave way to Thomas Jefferson it was not merely the sequence of names in the dull chronology of office; it was something more than that. Without undertaking to defend or to attack the principles or the policies of either of the two parties that had contended for mastery, I may be permitted to suggest that underneath the transient and comparatively trivial contests and difficulties between those parties there were deeper causes The Jeffersonian party represented the of difference. spirit of annexation. It had turned its face toward the West. It had fixed its eyes upon the setting sun. It felt the throbbing pulsations of a new country, and, conscious of the pervasive power of free institutions, it felt that the arena upon which the future was to be worked out was the entire continent. Modes of government, constructions of constitutions, the mere crystallizations of legislation, were not the true causes of difference. That policy which had at its head Mr. Jefferson looked to the accomplishment of a world-wide republic. It aimed to found a form of government so flexible that two States could be harmonious under it, or a hundred States could be united and happy in its progressive power. Realizing that that growth could only be attained by setting aside the trammels which were sought to be put upon the majestic limbs of this new mistress of the West, the followers of Jefferson changed not

only the *personnel* of the Government, but the policies of the Government also; and when Theodore Sedgwick went out of the Speaker's chair a Jeffersonian Democrat went into the Speaker's chair.

Fifty years passed away. The annexation had been accomplished. The Mississippi no longer divided us. Our fathers had gone across the continent. The muniments of our title were blood-stained by the victories of Buena Vista, and from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. Grave questions arose as to what should be the future of this oceanbound republic, and in the midst of the throes of the dying Whig party, in the midst of the changes that this very annexation produced, in the beginning of the consolidations that were to follow that disintegration, Massachusetts, who had lost leadership in 1801, stepped ready armed with all the culture that Harvard had given her, with all the heroic blood that poured through the veins coming from the Adamses and Quincys, with a generation equal to the generation of the Revolution-ay, superior in all the elements of true manhood and of lofty culture to that Revolutionary generation-Massachusetts stepped to the front; and, as the beginning of the leadership in that tremendous struggle, Nathaniel Prentiss Banks became Speaker of the House of Representatives; and though Orr followed him, and though a Democrat was elected once more, yet practically from 1855 until 1875 the House of Representatives registered the decrees of Massachusetts, and the Republic of America followed the lead of the old Bay Commonwealth. I do not exaggerate, Mr. Speaker, I think, when I say that from 1855 to 1875—whether it was for weal or for woe, whether it was wisely or unwisely done, men may differ

and historians may dispute—but as a matter of fact Massachusetts led America, and led her with an audacity and an aggressiveness, with a skill and an eloquence, with a power and force which have never been surpassed in all the tide of time in the leadership of a great people. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, is this all of it? Is this the end? Is this ceremonial about the past all that is to be said and all that is to enter our hearts on this early day of a new year? In some other hall, when the assembled representatives of many more millions are met together to accept the picture of some other Speaker—some Speaker as earnest, as dutiful, as resolute as these, some Speaker such as the eminent gentleman who has just preceded me [Mr. Randall], whose name honors the list of Speakers [general applause]—when some one, standing as I stand to-day, seconds the motion then to be made as I do the motion submitted to-day, may he not with more eloquent tongue felicitate himself and his country upon the added triumphs that he and his enjoy, that will have come down from this evening to that day?

As we go away to-day from this scene the thought which in my heart is uppermost has a tinge of envy in it. I envy the little boy who, careless to-day of this transaction, may live to see the development of the next seventy years. I feel toward him a certain degree of jealousy that he will see so much more than we have seen. I am glad, Mr. Speaker, I did not live when Washington lived; I am glad I lived not when Warren fell at Bunker Hill; I am glad that I have lived in a later day, amid other generations, that thereby I became the inheritor of all the accumulated glory, all the aggregated heroism, all the nameless and indescribable sacrifices that man has put forth from that day to this; and

as I project myself into the future I do not accept the olive branch that my friend from Massachusetts has held out to me, but, lovingly waving it aside, I take with outstretched hand his outstretched hand, and I challenge Massachusetts to a nobler rivalry for higher purposes in that glorious future which I pray God to give those we love. [Loud and longcontinued applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is now on the adoption of the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall].

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Mr. RANDALL. I move that the House now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

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